

THOMAS BOCK'S PORTRAITS OF THE TASMANIAN ABORIGINES

by

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Thomas Bock, a portrait painter of distinction, is outstanding among those few who have given us a worthwhile pictorial record of the extinct Tasmanian aborigines.

The main sources of information about Thomas Bock are William Moore's *The story of Australian art* (1934) and Clifford Craig's *The engravers of Van Diemen's Land* (1961). Bock, born in England in 1790, was trained as an engraver and came to specialise in portraiture. He was transported to Tasmania after conviction for administering drugs to produce abortion, and arrived in Hobart on January 19 1824 on the *Asia*. He remained in the colony for the rest of his life, dying in Hobart on March 18 1855. In Tasmania, Bock continued to work as an engraver and also did portraits of many of those prominent in colonial society, working mainly in crayons and watercolours.

No detailed appraisal of Thomas Bock's work has yet been published. He was probably the most accomplished portraitist working in Hobart at any time in the nineteenth century, but his work is generally unknown and unrecorded and has sometimes been confused with that of his son Alfred (1). Alfred Bock (1835-1920) worked in Tasmania, Victoria and New Zealand as artist, engraver and photographer and, like his father, specialised in portraiture. He was taught painting by his father.

The portraits of the Tasmanian aborigines painted by Thomas Bock are of considerable anthropological importance. Other than Bock, the only competent artist to have left a useful pictorial record (2) of the natives is Petit, who portrayed them when he visited Tasmania in 1804 as a member of Baudin's expedition. The other artists of the French and British expeditions were concerned with scenes rather than portraiture, and the few portraits they painted were usually europeanised in engraving them for publication, if they were not so in the original. Of artists working in the colony, only Benjamin Duterrau and John Skinner Prout produced anything significant, though there were a few amateurs who attempted to portray the natives.

Duterrau's work was technically not in the first class and his portraits therefore provide little precise information about the appearance and physique of the natives. On the other hand, Prout, a highly competent artist, only portrayed the natives as the captives of Flinders Island, most of the studies he did of them there in 1845 (3) showing figures clothed in shroud-like garments rather than individuals having the particular morphology of the Tasmanian aborigines. Duterrau seems to have worked mainly in oils, and Prout in watercolours.

Bock's watercolours of the Tasmanian aborigines have become well-known not only as portraits of an extinct race, but also on account of their rarity. In Tasmania they have been associated especially with Lady Franklin, a romantic figure there in the middle of the last century: Sir John Franklin was Governor from January 6 1837 to August 21 1843, and both he and his wife were patrons of art and science in the colony.

TECHNIQUE OF THE PORTRAITS

A survey of collections in Europe having brought to light a greater number of Bock's portraits of the Tasmanians than current ideas pointed to his having painted, and more being known in collections in Tasmania, it seemed possible that some of these paintings might be copies of Thomas Bock's originals by other hands. Attention was therefore given to the technique employed in each of the portraits, and in this the author was fortunate in having the advice and help of Mr E. Croft-Murray (Keeper of the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum), and of Mr G. Reynolds (Keeper of the Department of Engravings, Illustration & Design and Paintings, Victoria and Albert Museum). Portraits at the British Museum and at the Royal Anthropological Institute were examined first by Mr Croft-Murray. He considered them to be by two hands and to comprise:—

(a) a group of portraits in which fine dots were employed in shading, (4) and the use of blue was pronounced; and

(b) a group of portraits in which the shading depends upon dashes and lines, and reddish-brown predominates in the colour.

All the portraits at the Royal Anthropological Institute had the characteristics of group (a), and there was an inscription below each of them. The portraits at the British Museum, on the other hand, had no inscriptions, and belonged technically to group (b). In both groups the work was of a high standard, and appeared to be contemporary.

Later, and independently, Mr Reynolds saw the same portraits and came to the same conclusion. He also examined the portraits in the Pitt Rivers Museum Oxford and, finding that the technique of the painting was the same as that used in the portraits at the Royal Anthropological Institute, concluded from the evidence of the inscriptions that these two groups were the work of Thomas Bock. Moreover, Mr Reynolds came to the further conclusion that the Pitt Rivers portraits were Thomas Bock's originals, and that the portraits in the Institute had been prepared from them, being not so fine a set.

MANALARGENNA.

A Chief of the Eastern Coast of

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

TYPE A1 (R.A.I. "Hobson")

MANALARGENNA

A Chief of the East Coast of

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND

TYPE A2 (R.A.I. Franklin)

JENNY.

Native of Port Sorell.

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PORTRAITS

For ease of reference in other sections of this paper, Thomas Bock's watercolours of the aborigines will be grouped as :—

- (i) the portraits common to the collections of G. A. Robinson and Lady Franklin;
- (ii) the profiles in blue watercolour; and
- (iii) other portraits.

(i). The Robinson/Franklin series.

This series of portraits comprises those of which several sets are known and which have been referred to and reproduced in the literature as Thomas Bock's portraits of the Tasmanian aborigines. Their present location is given in Table I.

The original paintings are probably those now in the Pitt Rivers Museum Oxford but Bock certainly prepared at least one other set of the portraits as well as other duplicates of some of them. The individuals portrayed were natives who accompanied G. A. Robinson on his expeditions of conciliation among the Tasmanian aborigines. Woureddy and Truggennana joined him in 1829, and the others in 1830 and 1831.

All the known portraits of this series have an inscription giving the name and some particulars of the native portrayed and, except in a number of those of the Oxford set, this inscription has been hand printed by the artist. The printed inscription is set out in three lines below the portrait, the name of the native in the first, locality and information in the second, and "Van Diemen's Land" in the third. The first and third lines are in capitals, but the second is in an italic which is characteristic of Thomas Bock's lettering, being found both in the usual form of his artist's signature and in the inscriptions on his engravings (Craig 1961). The capitals of the first and third lines are of three varieties, a rather broad plain capital (type A1), a modification of this with double lines instead of single (type A1/2), and a decorated capital (type A2).

If it can be assumed that the form of capital (and inscription) is uniform in portraits prepared at the one time, which is a reasonable likelihood, some suggestions can be made as to the origin of the portraits in modern collections. Thus, those in the Royal Anthropological Institute are all from the set prepared by Bock for Lady Franklin (the portrait of Manalargenna given her by Hobson is an earlier production), the portraits of Jenny and Jemmy in the Fuller collection were originally in the possession of Strzelecki, and those with a simple capital belonged to Robinson's set or were contemporary duplicates.

In many of the portraits of the Oxford set, the inscription is written in pencil, probably in the hand of G. A. Robinson (type B).

*The Widow of a Chief
and Native of Cape Grim*

Only three of Thomas Bock's portraits are signed. In two of them, those of Jenny and Jimmy in the Fuller collection, the signature is in the italic referred to above, the same as that found in his lithographs.

T. Bock del.^t

T Bock sc.^t

Signatures : italic form.

However, in the signature to the portrait of Manalargenna given to Lady Franklin by Hobson (5) the letters are all type A1 Capitals.

T. BOCK

Signature : A1 Capital form.

Handwritten notes on the life and character of each native have been added in pencil to the Oxford set, beside and to the right of the inscription. The writer of these notes has not been identified, but the information given has clearly originated from Robinson, as it includes descriptive phrases used by him in MS, and particulars which only he could have known. Robinson provided Thomas Bock (August 1835) and Henry Dowling (December 1840) with biographical information about some or all of these natives, but they are formal biographies and do not give the character sketches found in the notes. One of these notes says of Jemmy, "Abt 18 (6) in 1839". The notes on the portrait of Larretong include the comment "dead about 3 years" — Larretong died on August 16 1837.

*At 3 yrs
dead - mother of Udooiph,
named Larretong. she never had
any contact with Europeans till
went to Flinders.*

It is probably safe to conclude from these notes that they were composed about 1839; they may have been inscribed by Robinson's clerk (7) at the Flinders Island settlement, whose handwriting resembles that found in them.

It is possible, of course, that the notes were added to the portraits some time later, but there is no evidence of this: the details given in them would not have been known to others, or readily accessible to anyone else. It is unlikely that the notes were added by Dr Barnard Davis after he bought the portraits from Robinson's widow in 1867 because he would not have had the information given in them; in any case, the notes are not in Barnard Davis's handwriting.

1. *WOUREDDEY* ⁽⁸⁾ (Plate 2).

The Oxford portrait is inscribed in type B — "Woureddy/Native of Brune Island", and that at the Royal Anthropological Institute in type A2 — "Woureddy/Native of Brune Island/Van Diemen's Land".

The notes on the Oxford portrait read: "husband to Lalla Rookh 2nd wife abt 40—2 sons—Robert and David Bruny by 1st wife".

2. *TRUGGERNANA* (Plate 2).

The Oxford portrait is inscribed in type A1 — "Truggernana/Native of the southern part of/Van Diemen's Land". The portrait in the Tasmanian Museum has a similar inscription.

The notes on the Oxford portrait read: "Lalla Rookh, wife of Woureddi aged 27. partl. good. saved Mr R's life at Arthur river by pulling log/ 2 spars/ of wood across river on which Mr R. was".

3. *JACK/TUNNERMINNERWATE* (Plate 3).

The Oxford portrait is inscribed in type B — "Jack Native of Cape Grim"; and the portrait in the Royal Anthropological Institute — "Tunnaminnerwate/Native of Cape Grim/Van Diemen's Land" in type A.

The notes on the Oxford portrait are — "about 24 'rather risible' md. to Fanny — no family — very good disposition".

4. *JACK'S WIFE / FANNY / WORTABOWIGEE*
(Plate 3).

The Oxford portrait is inscribed in type B — "Jack's wife/Native of Port Dalrymple"; and the portrait in the Royal Anthropological Institute has in type A "Wortabowigee/Native of Port Dalrymple/Van Diemen's Land".

The Oxford portrait has the additional notes — "Fanny aged 30 rather well disposed, but rather petulant".

5. *TIMMY* (Plate 4).

The Oxford portrait has the type B inscription — "Timmy/Native of George's River"; and the additional notes are — "jawbone — md to Jenny — about 19 native of Cape Portland — travelled with Mr Robinson".

6. *JENNY/JINNY* (Plate 4).

The Oxford portrait has a type B inscription — "Jenny/Wife of Timmy/Native of Port Sorell"; and that in Captain A. W. F. Fuller's collection has a type A inscription — "Jenny/Native of Port Sorell/Van Diemen's Land", and is also signed "T. Bock delt."

The notes on the Oxford portrait are — "about 20 — rather facetious and loquacious. no children. don't live very amicable".

7. *JEMMY/JIMMY/PROBLATENA* (Plate 5).

The Oxford portrait has the type B inscription — "Jemmy/Native of Hampshire Hills"; and Captain Fuller's portrait has a type A inscription — "Jemmy/Native of the Hampshire Hills/Van Diemen's Land," and is signed "T. Bock delt."

The notes on the Oxford portrait are "same as the grey bust". ⁽⁹⁾.

8. *LARRETONG* (Plate 5).

The Oxford portrait has the type B inscription — "The Widow of a Chief and Native of Cape Grim", and the notes are "dead about 3 years — mother of Adolphus. named Larretong. She never had any commn. with Europeans till went to Flinders".

9. *MANALARGENNA* (Plate 6).

Four examples of this portrait are known. The one at Oxford has a type A1 inscription — "Manalargenna/A Chief of the Eastern Coast of/Van Diemen's Land"; and another in the Tasmanian Museum has a similar inscription. There are two examples in the Royal Anthropological Institute, one having a type A1 inscription, the other type A2. The former is signed "T. Bock" in type A1 capitals, and has associated with it the following handwritten note — "Mr Hobson, ⁽⁵⁾ of Hobart Town, gave me this drawing of Manalargenna on May 18th 1837. He told me that he had hunted with him, often, and that this was a very good likeness. It was taken from life. The artist is a German" ⁽¹⁰⁾. This note is almost certainly Lady Franklin's.

The notes on the Oxford portrait are — "dead — a powerful chieftain & considered a sage — sinews of kangaroo tail spun into cord around his neck."

(ii). The Profiles

There are profiles in blue watercolour of five of the Tasmanians of the Robinson/Franklin series. These profiles show the head and upper part of the neck of the native. They are only known in the original in the Oxford series, but copies of them are associated with the copies of the Robinson/Franklin portraits in the British Museum and in the Tasmanian Museum.

The five profiles in the Oxford collection are labelled in handwriting (Type B inscription). They are:

- (10) Truggernana's profile (Plate 7).
- (11) Timmy's profile (Plate 7).
- (12) Jenny's profile (Plate 8).
- (13) Jimmy's profile (Plate 8).
- (14) Manalargenna's profile (Plate 9).

In addition the profile of Jimmy has the note — "travelled with Mr Robinson. married lately to Maria, who lived with a sealer — is very harmless. abt. 18 in 1839;" and that of Manalargenna has two notes, one in the same hand as his name (type B) — "The beard was removed to shew the form of the lower jaw", and the other in the hand of the explanatory notes of the other Oxford portraits — "dead at between 50 and 60. 5 ft 10".



WOUREDDY



TRUGERNANNA



JACK/TUNNERMINNERWATE



JACK'S WIFE/FANNY/WORTABOWIGEE



TIMMY



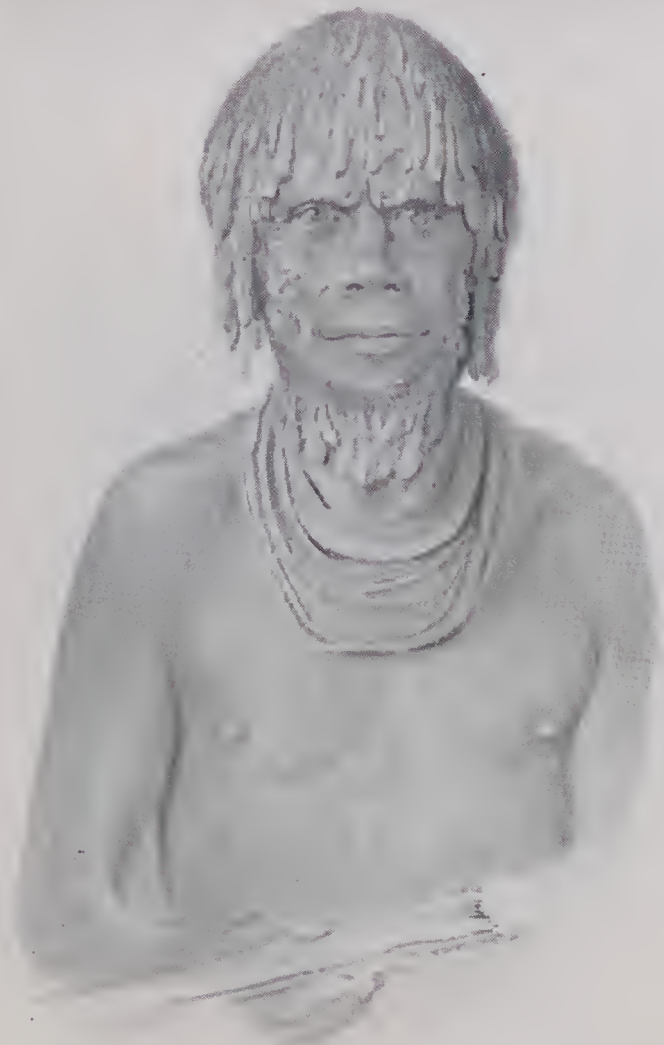
JENNY



JIMMY/JIMMY/PROBLATENA



LARETONG



MANALARGENNA



MATHINNA



TRUGERNANNA



TIMMY



JENNY



PLATE 8

JIMMY



MANALARGENNA



UNKNOWN D (British Museum)

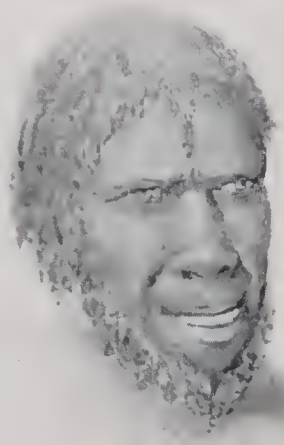


PLATE 10

Top Left : TOGERLONGERTER
Bottom Left : UNKNOWN B

Top Right : UNKNOWN A/TOMLABOMA (?)
Bottom Right : UNKNOWN C

(iii). Other Portraits

A. In the British Museum there are five portraits of natives painted by Thomas Bock, or copied from his work. Portraits 16 and 17 are unique.

15. *TOGERLONGERTER* (Plate 10).

The man's name is written on the portrait in G. A. Robinson's hand.

16. *UNKNOWN A/TOMLABOMA (?)* (Plate 10).

This is a copy by Alfred Bock of an unknown original by Thomas Bock. In the collections at the British Museum it is associated with a set of Alfred Bock's copies of the group I portraits.

17. *UNKNOWN B* (Plate 10).

This portrait is in the same style as that of Togerlongerter. The man lacks an upper incisor.

18. *UNKNOWN C* (Plate 10).

This portrait is also in the style of Togerlongerter.

19. *UNKNOWN D* (Plate 9).

The subject of this portrait does not show the leanness found usually among the Tasmanians; he was perhaps one of those natives with Robinson who had been brought up from infancy by settlers (11). The man has short hair rather than ringlets, his features are plump with a well-rounded chin, and his body and limbs are stout and fleshy rather than lean and elongated. Thomas Bock's original pencil drawing for this portrait, which is now in the Queen Victoria Museum, shows two poses of the legs; and has two marginal sketches of natives in European dress.

B. In the Tasmanian Museum, Hobart, there is a portrait of an aboriginal girl named Mathinna (Plate 6). Her age is six or seven years. She is wearing a red dress which conceals the body so that only the head can be seen in detail. The portrait is not signed, but it is clearly the work of Thomas Bock.

THE COLLECTIONS

The Barnard Davis Collection

The most important collection of portraits of the Tasmanian aborigines was that built up by Dr Joseph Barnard Davis (1801-1881), of Shelton in Staffordshire, a surgeon who became interested in the human skull. His was the largest collection of skeletal material of the various races of mankind in either public or private hands in the seventies of the last century. Associated with this collection were many articles of ethnological interest, as well as a large library. Barnard Davis acquired Tasmanian skulls from various sources, but most of his Tasmanian ethnological material came from G. A. Robinson's collection. Shortly before his death Barnard Davis disposed of the skeletal material to the Royal College of Surgeons of England (12). His library was auctioned by Sotheby's (13) on January 30 1883 and the two following days. It is not known when the ethnological material was disposed of, but as Tasmanian specimens from it have been traced to a number of different collections, (14) it seems probable that this part of the collection was sold by auction. However, attempts to trace an auction sale have failed.

Barnard Davis does not seem to have known G. A. Robinson before 1862. On February 5 of that year he wrote to Robinson saying that he wanted to buy Tasmanian skulls, implements, etc. and this letter began a correspondence which led to the two men meeting. Robinson died on October 18 1866, and in the following March Barnard Davis acquired his portraits of the Tasmanians and other ethnological material, paying the widow £30 for the collection. In a letter to Mrs. Robinson, written about April 15 1867, and now in the Mitchell Library, Davis said:—

... The chief things to me among the curiosities were the skulls & the portraits, but, finding I must purchase the whole, I strove to the best of my ability to estimate their money value — no easy task. I believe I know better than any one else the price of the skulls, from being the great skull-purchaser of recent times. With respect to the portraits, I some years ago acquired a knowledge of the 12 best and most carefully executed of them, which were executed by Mr T. Bock, of Hobart T. & I now have before me a letter of his son's Mr Alfred B. written May 14, '56, upon the subject of these very portraits. Mr T.B. executed them for the late Mr Robinson but, as Mr Robinson told me, Bock did another set for another person. It happened that in 1855 seven out of the 12 drawings of this other set, which cannot in any way be distinguished from those of Mr Robinson's, were purchased by a London printseller in the Strand, who lives a few doors on the Temple Bar side of Norfolk Street. When he had purchased these drawings, he offered them to Mr Rd. Cull, then Secretary of the Ethnol. Soc. a gentleman well known to the late Mr Robinson, and Mr C. bought the drawings of this London dealer . . . for two guineas, and they are now in the library of the Ethnol. Soc. . . . (I have in my possession) very carefully executed copies of 7 of them.

The material which Barnard Davis bought from Mrs Robinson is listed in the notebooks now in the Royal Anthropological Institute (15). There is a list of the whole collection, (16) in which many of the portraits are grouped together, and another list in which the portraits are each described. The following Tasmanian portraits are mentioned in this second list, which is dated October 21 1867:—

1. Bust of "Woreddy", a native of Brune Island. Executed by B. Law. Hobartown.
2. Bust of "Truggernanny," a Tasmanian woman, a native of Sullivan Cove, the second wife of Woreddy. Executed by B. Law. She accompanied G. A. Robinson on his expeditions, and saved his life on one occasion, when the natives were about to murder him, by swimming before him across a river. He could not swim.
3. Oil painting of "Woreddy", or "The Doctor." 3 ft. 1 in. by 2 ft. 9 in. This painting is framed in a beautiful Tasmanian wood.
4. Fine coloured drawing of "Woreddy" ♂. By T. Bock, of Hobart, who made this series of drawings with very great care and exactness for G. A. Robinson, who was much displeased that Bock subsequently supplied Lady Franklin with copies of some of them.
5. Fine coloured drawing of "Truggernana" ♀. By Bock. Truggernana presents the natural colour of the skin. I have no doubt she was a native of Brune Isl. Shell necklace.
6. Fine coloured drawing of "Wortabowigee". By Bock. Native of Port Dalrymple. Has kangaroo skin dress, and wheels on the arm, but is not ochred.

7. Fine coloured drawing of "Jenny" ♀. By Bock. Native of Port Sorell. Kangaroo skin dress. Wheals on the arm. Not ochred.
 8. Fine coloured drawing of "Problatena" ♂, nearly full length, with a spear by his side. Native of Hampshire Hills. By Bock. Problatena is not ochred, and therefore presents the true and natural colour of the Tasmanians. Has kangaroo skin dress.
 9. Fine coloured drawing of "Tunnaminna-wate" ♂. By Bock. Native of Cape Grim. Kangaroo dress on. Ochred. Wheals on the arm.
 10. Fine coloured drawing of "Manalargenna" ♂. By Bock. A chief (?) of eastern coast. Carries a firestick.
 11. Fine coloured drawing of a Tasmanian ♂ seated, pointing a spear. By Bock. Not ochred.
 12. Fine coloured drawing of a Tasmanian ♂. Ochred, and wants an upper front tooth. By Bock.
 13. Fine coloured drawing of a Tasmanian ♂. Has his head shaved, is in kangaroo skin dress, not ochred. By Bock. This is "Tomlaboma". G.A.R.
 14. Drawing of a Tasmanian ♂ on the reddish tinted paper.
 15. Fine coloured drawing of a Tasmanian ♂. Has a human jaw suspended round his neck as a charm. Has a fire stick and a waddy. Is naked, but ochred. By Bock.
 16. Fine coloured drawing of a Tasmanian ♀ (grave looking). Has a skin dress and wheals, but is not ochred. By Bock. Bock was an artist who lived at Hobarton. He was most scrupulously accurate. I have some account of him in a letter from his son in the portfolio "Galerie Anthropologique".
 17. Larger drawing of a Tasmanian ♀ on a reddish tinted paper. She has a skin girdle tied round her chest, above her breasts.
 18. 2 drawings of a Tasmanian ♂ and a ♀ on same paper. Both have the hair ochred and clotted.
 19. Drawing of a Tasmanian ♀ on same paper. The upper part of her head is whitened. A mourning custom among Australians.
 20. A fine drawing of a Tasmanian ♂, "Togel-longerter".
 21. Another fine drawing of a Tasmanian ♂. Unnamed. These two drawings were most likely executed by Bock, but I don't know.
 22. A drawing of a Tasmanian ♂ with clotted hair. The upper part of the figure is in outline.
 23. A drawing of a Tasmanian ♂. The hair in this drawing is evidently growing in spiral tufts. This and the three following are heads only.
 24. A drawing of Tasmanian ♂. Head.
 25. A drawing of Tasmanian ♀. Head.
 26. A drawing of Tasmanian ♀. Head. These five drawings are executed in a bluish sepia.
- (27-31. Portraits of Australian aborigines).

32. Coloured drawing of an Australian in a sailor's dress. By W. B. Gould.
- 32a. Daguerrotype of three Tasmanians.
33. Coloured drawing. "The natives of Tasmania bewailing the loss of their country." A design for the "Finis" of G. A. Robinson's proposed work on his missions.

Nearly the whole of this collection has been located. The portraits by Thomas Bock are :—

Group I — items 4-10, 15, 16.

Group II — items 22-26.

Group III — items 11 (unknown D), 12 (unknown B), 13 (? unknown A), 20 (Togelongerter), 21 (unknown C).

It is unlikely that Robinson's collection contained any but original work by Thomas Bock. Alfred Bock was born in 1835, so that the 50's would have been the earliest date for his skilled copying of his father's work, and by then Robinson had retired to England. However, before he acquired Robinson's collection in 1867, Barnard Davis undoubtedly had obtained a set of copies from Alfred Bock, and the set in the British Museum seems to be it.

Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford

In the collections at Oxford there are fourteen coloured drawings of the Tasmanians, comprising the portraits of groups I and II. Although none of them are signed and there is no record of their source, there is little doubt that they were painted by Thomas Bock for G. A. Robinson, and were among the portraits acquired by Barnard Davis from Mrs Robinson in 1867: the technique of applying the watercolour shows them to be by the same hand as portraits now in the Royal Anthropological Institute which were originally in the possession of Lady Franklin; the particulars concerning the natives are either in italic of the style found in the portraits from Lady Franklin's collection and in work known to be by Thomas Bock, or are written in a hand (type B) which is probably Robinson's; the annotations, though not in Robinson's hand, could only have been written by someone given the information by him or having access to Robinson's MSS. Technically they appear to be the originals from which Thomas Bock prepared others.

British Museum, London

The British Museum contains a large collection of Tasmanian material, including many portraits of the natives. Much of this came from Barnard Davis's collection and was apparently obtained for the museum by A. W. Franks, sometime keeper of the ethnological collections. Such material is usually marked "J.B. Davis coll.", and with Franks's name, but none of the portraits have any reference to Franks. The museum's records do not give any information. None of the portraits are now framed, but some are marked as having been so. This collection includes all the known Bock portraits, but while some are original paintings by Thomas Bock, most of them appear to be copies by Alfred Bock. The original portraits of groups I and II which Barnard Davis obtained from Mrs Robinson are clearly not among them.

The other portraits listed by Barnard Davis are also in the British Museum, with the exception of the daguerrotype of three Tasmanians (item 32a). There is no information in the museum's records relating to the busts of Woureddy and Truggernana which are there, but there is no reason to doubt that they formed part of the Barnard Davis collection. The oil painting of Woureddy (item 3) is by Benjamin Duterrau. Items 14, 17, 18 and 19 are five crude pencil and crayon sketches on tinted paper by an unknown hand. The coloured drawing by W. B. Gould of a native in sailor's dress (item 32) is almost certainly an Australian⁽¹⁷⁾. The artist of the vignette (item 33) is not known.

In addition to the portraits of the Tasmanians which Barnard Davis obtained from Mrs Robinson, he also purchased a number from John Skinner Prout, which that artist had painted on Flinders Island in 1845.⁽¹⁸⁾ With these watercolours and pencil sketches Davis also obtained from Prout one of the boards painted with figures which Governor George Arthur issued about 1829 to show the natives that justice was equal for black and white. Prout's watercolours and sketches are now in the British Museum, but the painted board is in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.⁽¹⁸⁾

Royal Anthropological Institute, London

References in the literature⁽¹⁹⁾ and in Barnard Davis's papers show that Richard Cull, Secretary of the Ethnological Society, bought from a London printseller in the early 1850's⁽²⁰⁾ seven of Bock's portraits of the Tasmanians, and added them to the collections of the Society. There is little doubt that these seven portraits had formed part of the set Thomas Bock prepared for Lady Franklin: she had informed Barnard Davis in 1856 that some of hers were missing, and the inscription associated with the extra portrait of Manalargenna in the Institute is undoubtedly Lady Franklin's. Moreover, Barnard Davis, when writing to Mrs Robinson in April 1867, stated that the seven portraits which Cull bought had formed part of a set, and there is not much doubt that he was referring to the one which had belonged to Lady Franklin. By chance, it is possible to say with some certainty which portraits these seven were. There are in the British Museum seven copies by J. Gray of Bock's portraits, the subjects being Woureddy, Truggernana, Jack, Jack's wife, Jenny, Jimmy and Manalargenna. These copies come from Barnard Davis's collection and are evidently those he refers to in this correspondence.

There are now only five original portraits by Thomas Bock in the Royal Anthropological Institute, those of Manalargenna (represented twice), Woureddy, Tunnamininnerwate and Wortabowigee. The portrait of Tunnamininnerwate and one of those of Manalargenna are marked on the back "Purchased 13 Jan'y 1880": the style of the inscription is uniform with those on the portraits of Woureddy and Wortabowigee, so that they could well have been among the portraits originally in the possession of Lady Franklin, acquired by Cull, later dispersed during the formation of breakaway groups from

the original society, and subsequently re-acquired unknowingly by purchase in 1880.

Only one of the portraits in the Institute is signed, namely the one of Manalargenna which was given to Lady Franklin by Hobson. It must be concluded, therefore, that Barnard Davis's statement that Cull's portraits were signed (letter to Alfred Bock of September 30 1855), probably means no more than at least some of them were signed — none of the Oxford series is signed, so it is clear that Thomas Bock did not always sign his work (and it follows also that the Oxford portraits were not Lady Franklin's set). There is no doubt that the portraits are all by Thomas Bock, the technique of the painting being the same in all five and the inscriptions by the same hand, with type A1/2 capitals in the Hobson portrait and type A2 capitals in the others.

Fuller Collection, London

In the collection of the late Captain A. W. F. Fuller there are two of Bock's portraits of the Tasmanians, those of Jenny and Jimmy. Both are originals, both are signed and both have type A1/2 inscriptions.

These two portraits were at one time in Edge-Partington's collection,⁽²¹⁾ and possibly were originally in Strzelecki's possession (see below). Both these portraits were recently presented to the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

Crystal Palace, London

The late Captain A. W. F. Fuller informed me that he recollected having seen many years ago a series of Bock's portraits among the permanent collections at the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. Presumably, these were destroyed when the Crystal Palace burnt in November 1936. They are likely to have been some of Alfred Bock's copies of his father's work.

Tasmanian Museum, Hobart

This museum has a set of copies of the Robinson/Franklin portraits (group I) and the profiles (group II), evidently prepared by Alfred Bock. Although supposed to be originals, possibly because of Fenton's statement (see below), they are technically not Thomas Bock's work. Moreover, they are recorded as being copies in the letter by which the government gave them to the museum:—

From Chief Secretary's Office, Hobart to Alexander Morton, Curator, Tasmanian Museum, Hobart, April 5 1889.

I also beg to forward a series of facsimiles of Bock's drawings of Tasmanian aborigines which the Government desire to present to the Trustees for the Art Gallery.

Although these portraits are copies, one of them, that of Woureddy, is inscribed "T. Bock delt." in small capitals. Photographs of this set, by J. W. Beattie of Hobart, are fairly common in collections.

There are also two original group I portraits by Bock in the collections. They are not signed, but have type A1 inscriptions. These portraits, which are of Truggernana and Manalargenna, were acquired by the museum in 1949 and had belonged to Miss E. M. Scott of Hobart.

Thomas Bock's portrait of Mathinna was presented to the Tasmanian Museum in May 1951 by Mrs. J. H. Clark, of Wellington, New Zealand, the elder daughter of William R. Bock, who was the second son of Thomas Bock.

Queen Victoria Museum, Launceston

In 1956 the museum acquired some papers relating to the Bock family, which had been in the possession of two of Alfred Bock's sons. Among these papers are some letters to Alfred Bock from Barnard Davis, biographies of Trugernanna and Woureddy in G. A. Robinson's handwriting and dated August 13 1835, and a number of pencil sketches of the aborigines.

The pencil sketches comprise:—

(1) **Unknown D.** The head, trunk and arms are shaded, but the legs are indicated only in outline and are crossed asymmetrically. On the same sheet are outline sketches of (a) the right foot, (b) the legs, which are crossed symmetrically, (c) the head of a native and (d) two natives in European dress seated with their legs crossed. The paper is watermarked "A Cowan & Son/1831". There is pencil rubbing under the central figure; and many of the outlines and salient features have been emphasised in pencil, but this does not seem to have been heavy enough to obtain a tracing from it.

The pencil sketch differs from the coloured portrait in the British Museum (Plate 9) in detail: in the latter the legs are crossed symmetrically (as shown in the outline on the same sheet as the sketch), and the lips are open, showing the teeth.

(2) **Unknown C.** (Plate 10). This sketch is coloured with brown and grey wash, and colour trials with splashes of pure colour, partly overlying one another, grey over brown, are on the same paper. The drawing has no tracing lines or pencil rubbing; part is torn away.

(3) **Togerlongerter.** (Plate 10). Pencil sketch, shaded. There is pencil rubbing on the back, and outlines and salient features have been gone over with a sharp pencil, but evidence that tracings have been taken from the sketch is not definite.

(4) There is a series of outline pencil sketches of Fanny, Jimmy, Jack, Trugernanna, Woureddy, Larratong and unknown A (?Tomlaboma), and also of Trugernanna, Jimmy, Jenny, Manalargenna and Timmy in profile. It is quite clear that these sketches have been used for making tracings; the outlines are indented with a sharp pencil and there is not only pencil rubbing behind each sketch but the tracing lines are evident. Moreover, the sketches of unknown A and of Woureddy are accompanied by tracings on a thick creamy-white paper. The outline sketches are on a fairly heavy whitish paper.

Samples of the papers of the outline sketch and tracing of unknown A, together with the paper of the same portrait in the British Museum, which is almost certainly Alfred Bock's work, have been examined in the laboratory of the British Museum, and Mr Baynes-Cope has reported on them as follows:—

I have examined these samples (and the portrait of 'unknown A') and find that they are all cotton-linen rag papers which, though differing slightly among themselves, offer no information on which dating could be based.

The papers, therefore, do not provide any evidence as to the authorship of tracing, outline sketch and finished portrait, nor indicate when they were prepared.

It is unlikely that the sketches in the Launceston museum are original studies: they are merely outlines. If they are Thomas Bock's work—and the best evidence for this is Alfred Bock's letter to Barnard Davis in which he states that he has "none but mere outlines", and clearly is referring to his father's work—then they are not the original sketches for the portraits but outlines prepared from them for the purpose of duplicating the portraits. This will explain why the duplicates of the various portraits are so closely similar. The fact that Alfred Bock had only "mere outlines" of his father's portraits, will also explain the differences in colour between copy and original, the colouring of the copies being not only uniform and without the individual distinction found in the originals, but also having a reddish-brown tint for the skin rather than the blackish-brown tones of the originals.

REFERENCES IN THE LITERATURE AND IN MANUSCRIPT

The Literature:

There are but few references in the literature to Thomas Bock's portraits, and most of them deal with the portraits in the Royal Anthropological Institute, London. In 1856 the Secretary of the Ethnological Society, Richard Cull, showed to members of the British Association⁽¹⁹⁾ seven portraits of the Tasmanians by Thomas Bock which he had bought in London. These portraits were also mentioned briefly at the time in the Journal of the Ethnological Society as being in the collections of the Society, and there have been other and more recent references to them in the Society's publication.⁽¹⁹⁾ There is little doubt that they had all originally been in the possession of Lady Franklin.

Lithographs of the four remaining portraits in the Royal Anthropological Institute, prepared from copies of the paintings by Miss E. M. Roth, sister of H. Ling Roth, were published in the latter's *Aborigines of Tasmania* in 1890. These portraits of Manalargenna, Tunnerminnerwate, Woureddy and Wortabowigee were reproduced in reduced size and by photo-lithography, in the second edition of the book in 1899.

P. E. de Strzelecki, in his *Physical description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land* (1845), published lithographs of Bock's portraits of Jenny and Jenny. Strzelecki was in Tasmania from August 1840 to September 1842 and became a close friend of Sir John and Lady Franklin. H. M. E. Hency, in her biography of Strzelecki,⁽²²⁾ quotes from a letter written by Lady Franklin to her sister in March 1843 which refers to these portraits:—

Do not forget to offer him Mathinna's (see note 23) portrait to get engraved. I have given him the portraits of two Tasmanian natives for the same purpose, they were quite savages.

The form of the inscription reproduced in these lithographs, with type A1/2 capitals in the name and type A1 capitals in "Van Diemen's

Land", is the same as that of the portraits of Jenny and Jemmy in the Fuller collection, a combination not found in any of the other known portraits. The evidence of this lettering and of the composition of Cull's purchase shows not only that the Fuller portraits were those given to Strzelecki by Lady Franklin, but also that she gave him two obtained from Bock especially for him and not ones from her own set.

In James Fenton's *History of Tasmania*(24) there is the following note concerning the lithographs after Bock's portraits of Jinny, Timmy, Truganini and Jack (*sic*) which were used as illustrations in the book:—

The portraits of Tasmanian aborigines were taken from life, by the late Mr Bock, for Lady Franklin, who permitted the artist to make copies for Henry Dowling, Esq., in 1838. The Tasmanian Government, in whose possession the portraits now are, has kindly allowed selections to be engraved for this volume. Mr Dowling says:— "From my personal acquaintance with the subjects themselves, during the years 1831-1833, I can confidently speak of the faithfulness of the portraiture".

Fenton's reference to Bock's portraits is not only confusing but has given substance to the Tasmanian legend associating their painting with the patronage of Lady Franklin. His statement comprises several parts — (a) the portraits were taken from life by Thomas Bock and (b) were painted for Lady Franklin; (c) duplicates of these portraits were prepared by Thomas Bock for Henry Dowling and (d) those duplicates were later acquired by the Tasmanian government; and (e) Dowling, from acquaintance with the subjects of the portraits in 1831-1833, could affirm the faithfulness of Bock's portraiture. Of all this it may be said that while Thomas Bock certainly painted the original portraits, he produced them for G. A. Robinson and not for Lady Franklin; that while Thomas Bock might well have prepared duplicates for Henry Dowling, none of them has certainly been identified in any collection, the portraits owned by the Tasmanian government (now in the Tasmanian Museum, Hobart) being copies of Thomas Bock's work; and that Henry Dowling was acquainted with some, if not all, of the natives portrayed while they were with G. A. Robinson, whom he knew personally.

Manuscript sources of information:

A good deal of light is thrown upon questions relating to the origin of the portraits and to the source of those in the various collections by contemporary records and correspondence. In G. A. Robinson's papers in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, there are references to the portraits and correspondence about them; and in the Robinson papers at Sydney, in the Barnard Davis MSS in the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, in the Department of Ethnography of the British Museum, and in the Queen Victoria Museum, Launceston there are letters and memoranda by Barnard Davis which relate to the portraits.

There seems little doubt that Thomas Bock painted all the portraits in the early 1830's. The following memoranda by Robinson(25) make this certain at least for some of them:—

Dec 21st 1832 . . . paid Bock for 2 drawings of nt. chiefs 2. 0. 0

(March 8, 1833) Recd this week the beginning the portrait of Ehumarah (see note 26) from Bock

In addition there is the following receipt signed by Thomas Bock:—

Received of Mrs Robinson, June the 29 1833 the sum of ten pounds fifteen shillings being the balance due for painting a portrait and 2 drawings of native chiefs.

And in a letter dated November 7 1864 written to Dr John Davy Robinson stated:—

In 1832 I had the portraits of a number of Tas. abg. pt. of both sexes painted from life by an eminent artist at Hobart Town with their profile in neutral tint.

This last note, written so many years after the event, may be thought unreliable, but as other parts of his letter to Davy contain quotations from his papers, it is clear that he was not relying solely on recollection in composing the letter.

There is also indirect evidence that the portraits were painted in the early 1830's:—

Manalargenna died at Flinders Island on December 4 1835, Togerlongerter on June 20 1837 and Larretong on August 16 1837 (dates of death of the other natives either not known, or later than 1837).

On May 31 1834 A. Schayer (superintendent of flocks, V.D.L. Co., Circular Head) wrote to Robinson as follows:—

Pray let me have the portraits of 2 of your aborigines a male and a female, I should wish either the old chief and his lady or Jemmy and his wife, I shall with pleasure return the expense, they only need to be in water colours the price of which you stated to be a guinea a piece. For I see it will be some time till we set out with the aborigines for Berlin and so I want to give my friends an idea of what they have to expect.

A year later, on May 28 1835, Thomas Swayne (clerk and woolsorter, V.D.L. Co., Circular Head) wrote to Robinson to acknowledge receipt of portraits of the natives sent for Schayer and himself, for which he sent Robinson £4. 4. 0 to be paid to the artist.(27)

It is clear, therefore, that some at least of the portraits were painted as early as 1832. In three cases, the date of death fixes an extreme point for the painting of a portrait, even if this point were not set for all the portraits at October 1 1835, when Robinson left Hobart to take charge at Flinders Island, and was accompanied by all the aborigines not already sent there (except only a few children who remained for a time in Hobart at the orphan school).

There is no evidence, therefore, for Fenton's statements in his *History* that Bock painted the portraits for Lady Franklin. The Franklins did not arrive in Tasmania until January 1837, by which time Manalargenna was dead and the other natives exiled on Flinders Island. There is no doubt that Lady Franklin did obtain a number of Thomas Bock's portraits of the aborigines, but these were duplicates based on the earlier work done for Robinson.

There is no reason to doubt that the seven portraits which originally made up the Ethnological Society's collection had formed part of Lady Franklin's set, nor that those now at the Institute are representatives of it. Lady Franklin's collection possibly comprised a set of group I portraits obtained from Bock, and an extra portrait of Manalargenna obtained from Hobson on May 18

1837. Sir John and Lady Franklin visited the aboriginal settlement at Flinders Island in January 1838 and while there they told Robinson that "They had the set of portraits of the nt. by Bock for which they paid him 30 guineas" (journal of G. A. Robinson, January 25 1838, Mitchell Library). It is not clear whether "set" meant only the nine group I portraits, or whether the five profiles were included, but probably the former was the case because no profiles have been identified as having been originally in Lady Franklin's possession.

Fenton's statement, however, that duplicates of the portraits were prepared for Henry Dowling is almost certainly correct. The Dowling family came to Tasmania in 1830 and spent a year or two in Hobart, where Henry Dowling was on the staff of the *Hobart Town Courier* before settling permanently in Launceston. There the father, Revd. Henry Dowling, became the first Baptist minister and his son Henry a newspaper proprietor and man of affairs. Correspondence in the Robinson papers in the Mitchell Library shows that Robinson knew both father and son, and that they supported him in his work among the aborigines and in his claims for reward for his services. Among the papers there is a copy of a letter from Robinson to Henry Dowling, dated December 3 1840 from Melbourne, sending biographical notes on the subjects of Bock's portraits. It contains the following:—

The aboriginal natives referred to were my travelling attendants . . . and now altho' many are dead yet do they live in my recollection and in my gratitude. Lareukenner is the young man with the long spear. Smalboy is the fine young man with the waddy I think the same you call Timmy.

Although the letter which Dowling wrote to Robinson on November 8 1840, to which the above was the reply, is missing from the Robinson papers, it is clear that Dowling was familiar with Bock's portraits, and probable that he possessed a series of them. However, no portraits of such origin have been identified in any modern collection. Henry Dowling's portraits may have passed to his brother Robert, who prepared oil paintings based on Bock's portraits, and it is possible they may yet be found, some of Robert's vignettes having come to light in England some years ago.⁽²⁸⁾

The further history of Bock's portraits can largely be followed, though not absolutely determined, through the correspondence and papers of Barnard Davis, which not only refer to the portraits in the possession of Robinson and Lady Franklin, but point to Alfred Bock's hand in the preparation of copies of his father's work.

Barnard Davis apparently knew of Bock's portraits of the Tasmanian aborigines through Richard Cull, Secretary of the Ethnological Society. In one of his notebooks in the Royal Anthropological Institute there is the following entry dated December 22 1854:—

Saw Cull. Showed me 7 small coloured prints of natives of V. Diemen's land issued he believed by Mr Robinson now or lately Prof. of Aborigines there or in N.S.W. He bought them about 3 years ago for 2. 2. 0 of Palliser Strand, who says he cant get more.

(In a later note, T. Bock is named as the artist).

This inspection of Cull's portraits seems to have led Barnard Davis to try to get some for himself—he was an indefatigable collector—and he wrote to Lady Franklin, and also to Alfred Bock in Hobart.

It is not clear how Barnard Davis knew that Lady Franklin had some of the portraits, but possibly he found this out by enquiries concerning Cull's purchase. At any rate, he had no success with Lady Franklin:—

Lady Franklin to Barnard Davis. December 5 1856.⁽²⁹⁾

Lady Franklin presents her compliments to Mr J. Barnard Davis, and in reply to his note, begs to say that she possesses only a portion of the drawings of the Aborigines of Tasmania made for her by Mr Bock, their number having been unfortunately diminished in consequence of lending them.

Lady Franklin regrets therefore, that it will not be in her power again to allow them to leave her, and that she will also be unable to shew them to Mr Davis, as they are packed up with others, in a place not at present accessible to Lady Franklin.

Barnard Davis's importunities were apparently more successful with Alfred Bock, for it is likely that Alfred sent him a series of portraits which he had prepared from tracings of his father's originals, colouring them similarly but not identically. These copies are probably those now in the Department of Ethnography of the British Museum. The relevant correspondence is as follows:—

Barnard Davis to Alfred Bock. Shelton, September 30 1855.⁽³⁰⁾

A friend of mine who resides in London about two years ago bought at a print-sellers a series of 7 small drawings of natives of Vnn Diemens Land, for which he paid two guineas, considered by him a great price. They are only small. Any of them would go on the page I am writing upon. But they are very nicely coloured, I conclude the correct colour of the natives. They are signed "T. Bock".

When I returned from London I mentioned this subject to my friend Josiah Spode, Esq, a gentleman now residing in this neighbourhood, but long a resident at Hobart Town, and well known there. (See note 31). He immediately informed me that he knew the artist and showed me a newspaper containing the announcement of the exhibition of his works, and also your advertisement as a photographer in behalf of your mother, Mr Bock's widow.

I am very desirous of procuring some of your Father's coloured drawings of the natives of Tasmania, or of other southern regions, if you have any such, or can procure me them. The 7 Tasmanians would be most acceptable to me. And if you have your Father's original sketches or copies of those I have seen I should be glad to have them. Pray let me know if you have any such, or can get me them from any one who has them. The colour of the drawings of these people is considerably lighter than we generally suppose it to be from the common name of "Black people", but I presume your Father would colour his drawings from nature, and make them as correct as possible. Pray explain to me whether this is so, or not . . .

Alfred Bock to Barnard Davis. Hobart, May 14 1856.⁽²⁹⁾

. . . With regard to the drawings, I am sorry to say they are the only ones, I know, of his having completed. I believe they were executed for Lady Franklin; they were drawn and coloured from nature, and it was one of my father's hobbies to make them as true as possible; I have none but mere outlines, with which I should not like to part; and I have not had sufficient opportunity to copy them for you at the present time, but will as soon as the winter sets in, and my leisure allows. I would advise you to endeavour to get the drawings from your friend and have them copied as they are the only authentic ones now extant of this race of people, and they are rapidly passing from off the earth, I believe there are but 6 or 7 remaining.

. . . Your friend ought to be very proud of the set of drawings he has got, and he had them for a mere nothing, if I mistake not, my father had four guineas each for them; and I would willingly have given £2 each to have them back. Do you think you can obtain copies of them? If so, will you have a set made for me also . . . P.S. Try and get the drawings, if possible. I will send you the copies of the outlines I have by the first opportunity.

(Annotation by Barnard Davis — "Son of the late Mr T. Bock, who made the 7 drawings of Tasmanians in the hands of the Ethnol. Soc. London.).

Barnard Davis to Alfred Bock. Shelton, October 4 1856.⁽³⁰⁾

. . . I am also very much obliged to you . . . for the promise of copies of your Father's outline drawings. Before saying more on this subject, I must tell you that I have made every effort to get the beautiful drawings, or to procure copies of them, for which purpose I engaged the services of a friend, an excellent artist. All my efforts have hitherto proved in vain, I believe from the fact that the present owner of these interesting drawings intends to publish them ere long. We shall then get lithographic copies, of which I shall send you an example . . .

I am hoping that you will have found time to make me copies of the outline drawings during your winter, and that they are now on their way to me. They will be very acceptable . . .

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Portraits in watercolour of a number of the Tasmanian aborigines were painted by Thomas Bock about 1832. These portraits are here designated for ease of reference, as groups I (9 portraits), II (5 profiles of group I natives) and III.
2. The portraits were painted for G. A. Robinson, the natives being for the most part those who accompanied him on his missions.
3. Subsequently duplicates were prepared for Lady Franklin and others, the latter probably including Henry Dowling, J. Swayne, A. Schayer and P. E. de Strzelecki. Only duplicates of group I portraits have been located.
4. Robinson's set of group I portraits is almost certainly that now in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Some of Lady Franklin's set and a portrait given her by Hobson are now in the Royal Anthropological Institute.
5. The only known original portraits of group II (profiles in blue watercolour) are those in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, and are almost certainly the originals painted for Robinson.
6. The portraits of group III are known only from the examples in the British Museum, from the unique original of Mathinna in the Tasmanian Museum, Hobart, and from the tracings and sketches in the Launceston Museum. Some of those in the British Museum are originals, but at least one is a copy.
7. Thomas Bock used outline sketches in preparing duplicates of the portraits so as to obtain close similarity. These or similar tracings formed the basis for copies prepared by his son Alfred, of which those in the British Museum and in the Tasmanian Museum are examples. Just as others of Thomas Bock's duplicates of the portraits may possibly be located in the future, so also may other copies by Alfred Bock come to light.
8. Anthropologically, Thomas Bock's portraits are important in giving us information about the

morphology and culture of the Tasmanian aborigines. They are probably as useful in this regard as available photographs, since the photographs are nearly all those of old people, long inactive. The busts are probably unreliable also.

Thomas Bock's treatment of skin pigmentation is likely to be more reliable than any other sources of information, and in this regard care must be taken to use Thomas Bock's originals rather than the duplicates he prepared, and still less the copies by Alfred Bock and others.

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In Sydney: Miss S. Mourot and other members of staff of the Mitchell Library; Mrs T. Belleau-Kemp.

Particular thanks are due to Professor J. L. Young, University College, London, in whose department the author was working when most of the enquiries reported herein were being made.

Grateful acknowledgment is made of permission given by the Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, the Trustees of the British Museum, the Director of the Tasmanian Museum and the Director of the Queen Victoria Museum to publish portraits of the Tasmanian Aborigines by or after Thomas Bock.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Who is the Robert Bock to whom some pencil and crayon portraits in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, are attributed? These portraits seem to be in two hands: one group may be by Thomas Bock; the other, comprising some portraits in crayons, may be by Alfred Bock. One of the latter is dated 1855 and the signature is said to be "Robert Bock", but the Christian name is unclear and could as well be "Alfred". But if this is Alfred Bock's work some of the portraits must be copies from other earlier work, for the series includes a portrait of Sir George Arthur who was in Tasmania as Governor only from 1824 to 1836.
2. If busts are included, those of Dumoutier should be mentioned, though it is very doubtful if he modelled any of the subjects from nature. Dumoutier visited Hobart in 1839/40 with Dumont D'Urville's expedition, but by that time one of his "models" was dead, and at least two of the others were then in Victoria with G. A. Robinson. Altogether, the whole question of Dumoutier's busts needs clarification. The busts are listed by Plomley N. J. B. (1962) *Rec.Q.V.Mus., Launceston, N.S.15*.
3. There is a companion series of portraits by F. G. Simpkinson (de Wesselow) in the Tasmanian Museum, Hobart. They are dated 1845 and it seems

probable that Prout and de Wesselow visited the Flinders Island settlement together.

4. Mr E. Croft-Murray describes the technique as "stippled watercolour of the professional portrait-draughtsman in that medium in the early 19th century".

5. Probably Dr Edmund Hobson, an amateur naturalist, but perhaps his son Edmund Charles Hobson, M.D. E. C. Hobson died at Melbourne on March 4 1848, aged thirty-three.

6. The ages of the natives cannot be used to fix dates. The age ascribed is often little more than a guess, and there is sometimes a wide discrepancy between an age recorded on one occasion and that recorded on another.

7. This man was probably B. McSweeney, 2061 Norfolk.

8. Some notes on the aborigines of Thomas Bock's portraits are given on p. 22.

9. This cast has not been identified. Perhaps it was one by Duterrau, who modelled several of the natives. Some of his casts are now in the Tasmanian Museum, but examination of the catalogue of the sale of Duterrau's pictures and other work after his death points to there having been others.

10. Why Lady Franklin should have thought Thomas Bock to have been a German is not clear, unless she considered the name Bock sounded germanic.

11. It must be kept in mind that there were natives of many races in Tasmania at one time or another, both convicts in the colony and seamen visiting it. Negroes and natives of the Pacific were among them, as well as Australian aborigines; and sometimes their portraits were painted in the colony. Thus, W. B. Gould painted a Sydney native at Macquarie Harbour in 1832, and J. S. Prout painted a native of the Isle of Palms and several New Zealanders when he was in Hobart. However, in the present case there is little doubt that the subject was a Tasmanian aboriginal.

12. Almost the whole of this collection was destroyed when the Royal College of Surgeons of England was bombed on the night of May 10/11 1941.

13. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge. (1883). Catalogue of the library and engravings of the late D J. Barnard Davis, F.S.A., F.R.S., &c., of Shelton, Hanley, Staffordshire. Part of the collection was later resold by Bernard Quaritch by his Rough List No. 63, February 28 1883.

14. Tasmanian material from Barnard Davis's collection has been seen in the Department of Ethnography of the British Museum (portraits, baskets), Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford (necklet), Brighton Museum (ground stone axes said to be Tasmanian), Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge (signboard). Ref:— Plomley, N. J. B. (1962) *op.cit.*

15. The Barnard Davis papers in The Royal Anthropological Institute include (a) a series of notebooks recording visits relating to his scientific interests (August 1845-October 1860), (b) a notebook labelled "Notae Ethnographicae".

16. This list is quoted by Plomley, N. J. B. (1962) *op.cit.*

17. W. B. Gould was a convict at Macquarie Harbour at the time G. A. Robinson was using the Settlement as a base for his mission to the aborigines of south-western Tasmania in 1833. Robinson records in his journal for May 28 of that year that "Gould the artist painted me a view of the Settlement shewing my return with the Port Davey tribe of aborigines and their landing at the penal settlement of Macquarie Harbour". Robinson had this and some other views of the Settlement in his collection (Barnard Davis MS). At this time also, Gould would have painted the portrait of Towtrer (Towterer), chief of the Port Davey tribe, which is now in the Mitchell Library. At about this time also, Gould could have painted the native wearing the blue jacket whose portrait is item 32 of the Barnard Davis list. Some "Sydney natives" were at Macquarie Harbour with a party led by A. Cotterell in May 1833, and among the stores they had were blue jackets, the garment worn by the native in Gould's portrait.

18. A short description of this board has been given by Little, K. L. (1945). A British proclamation of justice to the Tasmanians, 1815. *Man*, 45, p.1, pl.A.

19. (a) Cull, R. (1856) On some watercolour portraits of natives of Van Diemen's Land. *Rept. Brit.Ass.Adv.Sci.*, 25, p.142. (See also *Launceston Examiner*, January 8 1856.)

(b) King, R. (1867) (Exhibitor of watercolour drawings of natives of Tasmania) *J.anthrop.Soc. Lond.*, 5, p.xxxii.

(c) (Purchase of paintings of Tasmanians) *J.anthrop.Inst.*, 10, p.435 (1881).

(d) (Bock's portraits in R.A.I. library). *Man*, 38, p.82 (1938).

20. This date is given by Barnard Davis variously as (a) "About two years ago" (letter to Alfred Bock of September 30 1855), (b) "About three years ago" (note dated December 22 1854), and (c) "In 1855" (letter to Mrs Robinson of April 1867).

21. (a). Australian prints, drawings, etc. in the collection of J. Edge-Partington, Esq., Beaconsfield. (1926), (b). Francis Edwards Ltd. (1934). Catalogue of the Australian collection of books and pictures formed by the late James Edge-Partington.

22. Heney, H. M. E. (1961). In a dark glass, (Sydney).

23. It is unlikely that the portrait of Mathinna which Lady Franklin is referring to here is the one now in the Tasmanian Museum. The latter came from the Bock family and is therefore clearly a duplicate of the one which Thomas Bock painted for Lady Franklin, which must be regarded as missing. (The statement by Heney in footnote 15, p.242, referring to Lady Franklin's letter, quoted on p.140 that the portrait of Mathinna "is one of the illustrations in the Physical Description", is not correct.)

24. Fenton, J. (1884) *A History of Tasmania*. (Hobart).

25. The information referred to in paragraphs (a) to (f) is to be found in the Robinson papers in the Mitchell Library.

26. The portrait of Umarrah, who died on March 24 1832, has not been traced. It may be unknown A or B or C of the British Museum collection.

27. It is possible, though not at all likely, that the portraits which Robinson obtained for Schayer and Swayne were painted by Duterrau, who had arrived in Hobart on August 16 1832 and who had also portrayed Robinson's "sable friends." But Duterrau's work was in oils, not watercolours; and oil paintings would certainly not have been sold for "a guinea a piece", the price paid by Schayer and Swayne. In a letter to Robinson dated October 8 1832, Schayer informed him that he had forwarded to Berlin an account of an exhibition of native dancing, "for a friend of mine who is the editor of a newspaper and a journal of travels". If this were the friend for whom Schayer wanted the portraits, it may be that they are still in existence and will be found in some German collection.

28. Plomley, N. J. B. (1961) Pictures of Tasmanian aborigines by Robert Dowling. Bull-nat.Gal. Vict.,3, pp.17-22.

29. Original letter in the Department of Ethnography, British Museum.

30. Original letter in the Queen Victoria Museum, Launceston.

31. Mr. Henry Allport of Hobart has informed me that Alfred Bock states in a letter to J. W. Beattie that Lady Franklin allowed Thomas Bock to duplicate the portraits for Josiah Spode. This is most unlikely, for there is not the slightest hint of it in Barnard Davis's correspondence. It must be remembered that Alfred Bock was only twenty when his father died and would have had, at best, vague recollections for details of events occurring when he was a child. This vagueness is apparent in his correspondence with Barnard Davis.

NOTES ON THE ABORIGINES OF THOMAS BOCK'S PORTRAITS

The identification of the Tasmanian aborigines portrayed by Thomas Bock presents several difficulties, not the least of which arise from the use of English names and from variations in the spelling of the native names. Although all the natives whose portraits Bock painted seem to have been associated with G. A. Robinson on his expeditions at one time or another, or had been captured by him, it is sometimes difficult to determine from his journals and papers who a particular native was, even though there may be many references to such a one. To add to the confusion, in January and February 1836 Robinson bestowed romantic names on the natives at the Flinders Island settlement (marked "FI" below) and they were often known by these names from that time. However, sometimes the new names were not used: in any case, it is often difficult to find out what native names they replaced and still more so to distinguish between the duplications of Maria, Jack and so on in the earlier records, so that it may become well-nigh impossible to sort out some piece of confusion, particularly when there is little doubt that Robinson himself was at times forgetful and made mistakes in recording names.

The notes which follow summarise what has been determined from the records available, taking account, in so far as possible, of the causes of error referred to above.

1. WOORADY (♂)

Other spellings: WOORRADEY, WOUR-EDDY, WOREDDY, and other variants.

Other native names: MUT.TEEL.LEE and variants.

English names: "The Doctor"; Count Alpha (FI).

Native of Brune Island.

Wife: (a) first wife (name unknown) died at Brune Island c. September 1829, leaving two children DROY.YER.LOIN.NE and MY.YUNG.-GE., later named Peter Brune and David Brune; (b) second wife TRUGERNANNA.

Associated with G.A.R. from May 1829.

Died: July 1842.

2. TRUGERNANNA (♀)

Other spellings: TRU.GER.NAN.NER, TRUCANINI, TROUKANINNY, TOOKER-NENNY, TRIGENHANNA and other variants.

Other native name: LYD.GUDG.GEE and variants.

English name: Lalla Kookh (FI).

Native of southern part of VDL (Port Esperance).

Husband: WOORADY.

Associated with G.A.R. from April 1829.

Died: May 8 1876.

3. TUN.NER.MIN.NER.WAIT (♂)

Other spellings: TUNNERMINNERWATE and variants.

Other native name: PEE.VAY and variants.

English names: Jack, Cape Grim Jack; Napoleon (FI).

Native of Robbins Island ("Cape Grim").

Wife: Fanny (WORTABOWIGEE).

Associated with G.A.R. from June 1830.

Hanged with MAUL.BOY.HEEN.NER at Melbourne on January 20 1842 for the murder of two sealers (?) at Westernport in October 1841.

4. WORTABOWIGEE (♀)

Other spellings: ? WATERPOOIDEYER.

Other native name: PLON.NOO.PIN.NER.

English names: Fanny*, Jock.

Native of Port Dalrymple.

Husband: Jack (TUN.NER.MIN.NER.WAIT).

Associated with G.A.R. from (?) 1832.

With G.A.R. at Port Phillip; sent back to Flinders Island July 1842. Died: (?)**

* There seem to have been at least three natives named "Fanny".

** Fanny was alive in 1845.

5. MAUL.BOY.HEEN.NER* (♂)

Other spellings: MAL.BOY, MALBY, MAL-LEY, ?MAIL.A.PO.WAY.NER.ER.NER.

English names: Timmy; "Small Boy"; Robert** (FI).

Native of Georges River (?=Georges Rocks); ? Cape Portland.

Wife: Jenny. (After Jenny's death he married Rebecca, who died of dysentery on April 29 1841).

Captured by one of the roving parties: possibly he was one of the natives whom Robinson saw in gaol at Richmond early in October 1829. He accompanied the expedition to Port Davey but seems to have been one of those sent back to Hobart from Port Davey in April 1830. If so, he probably rejoined Robinson in March 1831.

Hanged (with TUN.NER.MIN.NER.WAIT) at Melbourne on January 20 1842 for the murder of two sealers (?) at Westernport in October 1841.

* Writing to Henry Dowling from Port Phillip on December 3 1840, Robinson said in a biographical note — "Small Boy the original name given him by his parents but which it is evident is only a compound of the Engl adjective small and substantive boy". However, the name MAUL.BOY.HEEN.NER is found in a note made about December 1833, and so the above statement should be treated with some reserve.

** Not to be confused with Robert, the "civilised aborigine" who died at Launceston in March 1832.

6. NUM.BLOO.TE* (♀)

English names: Jenny (Jinny); Semiramis (FI).

Native of Port Sorell.

Husband: Timmy**

Died: February 28 1839.

According to a statement by Robinson, "Numploote and her husband attended me in all my wanderings", but there is no clear evidence that she accompanied the Port Davey expedition, and she does not seem to have been associated with G.A.R. before 1832.

* Robinson states that "Numploote in the language of the district is the name for a bat i.e. the bird so called".

** Timmy was her second husband, her first having been shot by one of the armed parties.

7. PROBELATTER (♂)

Other spellings: PROBELATENA and variants.

Other native names: LAR.CUR.KEN.NER*; LACKLAY(?).

English names: Jemmy (Jimmy); Isaac** (FI).

Native of Hampshire Hills.

Wife***: Matilda (FI) = PY.TER.RUN.ER (? = NATTEPOLENINER).

? Drowned at Westernport (Victoria) c.1840. Captured when a boy by one of the armed parties. He has not been identified among the natives with Robinson earlier than 1831, and probably he was among those sent to Robinson from Launceston in March of that year. Remained with Robinson thereafter.

* There is a statement by Robinson that "Lar-curkenner in the language of the district is the name for a pigeon".

** Not to be confused with Isaac a native woman who lived with the sealer Mansell.

*** The note associated with the profile of Jimmy that he was "married lately to Maria, who lived with a sealer" is very difficult to interpret. There are three possibilities: (a) "Maria" is a mistake for "Matilda", (b) Maria is an alternate name for Matilda; and (c) "lately" means "formerly", i.e. Maria was then dead. It is almost impossible to check on the third explanation because of the number of native women, at least six, who had been called Maria by the sealers. None of them seem likely except one who had lived with the sealer Kelly: She was a girl who seems to have died soon after she arrived at the aboriginal settlement (? c.1833-34). Of the three explanations the second seems the most likely.

8. LARRA.TONG. (♀)

Other spelling: LARRETONG.

English name: Queen Andromache (FI).

Native of Robbins Island (? Sandy Cape).

Husband: WY.MUR.RICK.

Joined G.A.R. in July 1832.

Her only (?) son TIME.MER.NID.IC (Tommy); Adolphus (FI) was sent to Lady Franklin in January 1839.

Died: August 16 1837.

LARRATONG and her husband WYMURRICK were in Hobart in November and December 1832 (after which they were sent to Flinders Island), so that this was almost certainly when the portrait of LARRATONG was painted by Bock.

9. MAN.NER.LE.LAR.GEN.NER. (♂)

Other spellings: MANNALARGENNA and variants.

Chief of an unidentified tribe of the east coast.

Wife: TAN.LEE.BONE.YER (Sall; ?Sarah).

Associated with G.A.R. from November 1830.

Died: December 4 1835.

15. TOEGER.LONG.ENT.ER. (♂)

Other spellings: TOGERLONGERTER, TOUGE.LOUCHTER, TONGERLONGETER.

English names: Governor; King William (FI).

Chief of the Oyster Bay tribe.

Wife: Queen Adelaide (FI).

Captured by G.A.R. (with MONT.PE.LI.AT.TER, chief of the Big River tribe) on December 31 1831.

Died: June 20 1837.

16. TOMLABOMA. (??)

The only known portrait of this native is one in the British Museum, which is a copy by Alfred Bock after an unknown original by Thomas Bock (there is an outline sketch for the portrait in the Queen Victoria Museum). The native of the portrait is not named, but seems to be TOMLABOMA of item 13 of the Barnard Davis list (the shaven head suggests a female rather than a male). No one, either male or female, is known by this name, but if one uses similarity of sound for identification rather than spelling, it is just possible that the name is TANLEBONEYER (TAN.LEE.BONE.YER).

This native was the wife of the chief MANNA-LARGENNA. She had been living with the sealers, but was brought to Launceston by James Parish about September 1830 to act as a guide at the time of the *Line*. In 1831 she was again at the islands, either with the sealers or at the aboriginal settlement, but she joined Robinson at the beginning of September and, with her husband, accompanied him on all his expeditions thereafter. She died on May 1 1835.

The above identification receives some support from the fact that TANLEBONEYER was one of the natives portrayed by Duterrau. (Some information about her was included with the biographies which Robinson sent to Henry Dowling on December 3 1840, but it is clear that her portrait was not included among those which were probably in Dowling's possession.)

17. MATHINNA. (♀)

Mathinna was the daughter of Towterer, chief of the Port Davey people, and his wife Wongerneep. Both parents were natives of Point Hibbs; they were captured by Robinson in June 1833. Mathinna was born on Flinders Island but the date of birth has not been determined. However, in a letter to her sister Mrs. Simpkinson in February 1843 Lady Franklin remarks that in the portrait which Thomas Bock had painted Mathinna "looks there like a girl of 12, but is only 7". This and other evidence suggests that Mathinna was born between July 1834 and June 1835.

Mathinna's mother died in September or October 1840. The child apparently went to the Franklins about July 1841, either directly from the Flinders Island aboriginal settlement or after having spent some time at the Queens Orphan School, Hobart. She remained with

them until they returned to England, living with Eleanor Franklin and her governess. In July 1843 Mathinna was sent to the Queens Orphan School, and in February 1844 to Flinders Island. J. S. Prout saw her there in 1845 and made a sketch of her which is now in the British Museum. When the Flinders settlement was abandoned she was again sent to the Queens Orphan School (in October 1847). In 1851 she went to the settlement at Oyster Cove and on September 1 1856 she died there by misadventure when drunk — she was then twenty-one or twenty-two years old.

G. P. Gell, when writing to his father in November 1841, remarked that the name Mathinna signified "necklace". Such a derivation is possible, *méta* being the word for "sinew" or "cord" in the eastern dialect (the western word has not been recorded), and sinews were used in making necklaces. The name Mathinna does not appear in the Flinders Island records of the Robinson era (and no other detailed records have been seen): she was known there as Mary. Other sources of confusion are the renaming of her father as Romeo and of her mother as Eveline at Flinders Island. Towterer died on September 30 1837 and Wongerneep later married Parlin, another western native, who appears in Robinson's records under the name Hannibal.

Note added in proof: Examination of some papers of Dumoutier in the Musées de l'Homme (Paris) suggests that (a) Sir John and Lady Franklin had a full set of Bock's portraits, including the "blue profiles", and (b) Sir John allowed Dumont D'Urville to take copies of his Bock portraits (and others) during the visit in December 1839. These copies have not been traced; it is just possible that they were yet another set of replicas obtained from Bock.

Table 1: THE ROBINSON/FRANKLIN SERIES OF PORTRAITS OF THE TASMANIANS.

Present known distribution of originals and copies.

PORTRAIT	ORIGINALS				COPIES		
	A Pitt Rivers. Oxford	B Roy. Anthrop. Inst.	C A. W. F. Fuller Coll.*	D Tasm. Museum Hobart	E British Museum Alfred Bock	F Tasm. Museum Alfred Bock	G British Museum J. Grey
Woureddy	1	1			1	1	1
Truggermana	1			1	1	1	1
Jack	1	1			1	1	1
Jack's Wife	1	1			1	1	1
Timmy	1				1	1	
Jenny	1		1		1	1	1
Jimmy	1		1		1	1	1
Larretong	1				1	1	
Manalargenna	1	2		1	1	1	1

* Now in Mitchell Library, Sydney.

ADDENDUM

The identification of the series of Thomas Bock's portraits of Tasmanian aborigines now in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, as being the original set painted for G. A. Robinson, has been shown to be incorrect by the recent discovery of material in the Musée de l'Homme, Paris. It is now clear that the Pitt Rivers set* belonged originally to Sir John and Lady Franklin; that the set painted by Thomas Bock for G. A. Robinson has not been located; and that the original owner of the portraits in the Royal Anthropological Institute, except the one bearing the inscription referring to Hobson, has not been identified.

The new material comprises some photocopies of drawings found among Dumoutier's papers and originating in Dumont D'Urville's expedition, that is, the material relates to the period 12 December 1839—25 February 1840 in which the Astrolabe and Zélee paid their two visits to Hobart. The relevant pieces in this collection are (1) an outline sketch of the chief Mannalargenna, and (2) a rough sketch of portraits of Larratong, Jenny and Jack. The sketch of Mannalargenna is clearly Thomas Bock's work, and is identical with his other portraits of this man; the conclusion reached that Bock obtained exactness of reproduction by working from outlines is therefore strengthened (see page 17).

The sketch of Larratong, Jenny and Jack is readily identifiable as having been made from Thomas Bock's portraits of those three natives. It has the additional interest of having inscriptions associated with each of the portraits which are those found on the Oxford set. These inscriptions, moreover, clearly were dictated to the sketcher, so that, for example, the notation on Larratong's portrait "she never had any commun. with Europeans till went to Flinders", has become "chi never haid eney communication vith Europeans and till flindern"; and there is also a free translation of this notation into French.

It is known from Dumoutier's papers in the library of the Musée de l'Homme, that Sir John Franklin had a collection of pictures, busts and "miniatures" relating to the Tasmanian aborigines, and that Lady Franklin gave Dumont D'Urville permission to copy the "miniatures." The notations on the sketch in the Dumoutier collection clearly associate Dumont D'Urville and the Pitt Rivers set of Bock's portraits; and in the absence of any known, or possible, contact with G. A. Robinson at that time — he had been at Port Phillip since February 1839, and Dumont D'Urville did not visit that place nor any other on the Australian mainland except Port Essington — there is no alternative to the view that the Pitt Rivers portraits were those seen by Dumont D'Urville in Sir John Franklin's collection.

Having thus identified with some certainty the Pitt Rivers portraits as having belonged to Sir John and Lady Franklin, it is now necessary to revise some of the previous conclusions as to the provenance of the various portraits:—

(A). Statements linking the Oxford portraits with G. A. Robinson's original collection are untenable, but in no way depreciate the descriptions of the portraits in the various collections, or the conclusions on matters other than original ownership. Thus, the conclusion reached from the content of

the notations on the Oxford set that they were composed about 1839, is now nearly certain; but the supposition arising from that conclusion that the notations may have been inscribed by Robinson's clerk is now open to some doubt, although the fact that the type B inscriptions are probably in Robinson's hand does not make it impossible — in view of the known meetings, both at Hobart and at Flinders Island, between Robinson and the Franklins there is no argument against the latter. (B). The conclusion that the portraits in the Royal Anthropological Institute, with the exception of that with the inscription referring to Hobson, had belonged to the Franklins, is of course untenable. Lady Franklin's excuse to Barnard Davis for not lending him her set of the portraits for copying must now be seen in more restricted terms, with perhaps only the Hobson portrait missing. The origin of the other portraits in the Institute cannot yet be determined and we can only deduce from the records relating to Cull's purchase that they all came from the one collection. None of the known sets seems to fill the bill — they are certainly not part of Robinson's original set, which Barnard Davis later acquired; it is unlikely that they had belonged to Henry Dowling, for his brother Robert did not reach England until 1856 at the earliest²⁸; and Schayer and Swayne seem to have had only four portraits altogether, and Schayer's were probably sent to Berlin. Possible sources of the portraits are:— G. A. Robinson (no evidence that he had portraits in addition to his original series, and no evidence that he disposed of any in London between his arrival there in September 1852 and departure for the Continent in June 1853); John Skinner Prout (may have obtained copies from Bock during the four years he spent in Tasmania (1844-1848); returned to England in 1848); Josiah Spode (returned to England in 1854; no evidence that he had any of Bock's portraits, except for Alfred Bock's statement in his letter to J. W. Beattie³⁰, and the Barnard Davis correspondence does not support this). Prout is the most likely of these.

(C). Lastly, it must again be pointed out that Robinson's original set of portraits, except for the group (iii) portraits in the British Museum, has not been traced. Barnard Davis acquired the collection from Mrs. Robinson, and presumably it was sold after his death in 1881, but there the trail peters out for most of the portraits; and unless the missing ones were those said to have been in the Crystal Palace, nothing further can at present be said on the matter.

Paris, June 1965.

N. J. B. PLOMLEY

* Each of the Oxford portraits is now framed, so that it is not possible to inspect the back, or the margins of the front. However, close to the upper margin of the portrait of Mannalargenna the words "House of Assembly Hobart" are written in pencil; and on his profile, partly obscured by the frame, what appears to be "Mrs G. . .". No explanation of these notations can be offered; the "House of Assembly Hobart", the lower chamber of the legislature in Tasmania, was not set up until 1855; its first members were elected in 1856.